1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

the words in a rumbling tone "to sound like thunder." This speech 796[x]
was not recorded.

They now prepared the scene where the feast was to be held. In front of the space where the dances would be performed they made a symbolic representation of the fields of all five villages. The director threw corn meal on one of the spectators and bade him bring sand. This helper, like all the others in important ceremonies, must run at his task, not walk. He filled a blanket full of sand several times, and disposed of it in front of the ceremonial house where the leaders sat. The director measured a plot about a hundred feet square. He marked this space into compartments "representing the fields" of each town concerned. After he had indicated the measurements, the other four leaders, as representatives of their villages, made the sand into piles with which they marked the boundaries of their respective fields, each in the direction in which its village lies. In these sand piles were placed the turkey-feather prayer sticks from the basket, eight in each pile.

This done, the basket was closed and returned to its place in the ceremonial house, and the spectators were told that the public performance of the ceremony would take place in ten days, to be reckoned by the tally sticks. Each leader returned to his own village, and that evening he summoned the men and announced the ten days of festival. His summons was the swinging of a bull [202]
roarer. Every man and youth in the village was expected to attend and, with them, the members of related villages who had come in to camp for the purpose. The leader made a speech outlining their duties for the next ten days, when all were supposed to be at his disposal and ready to work. Next morning they started.

Their first duty was to build a temporary brush enclosure in [244]
which to work at the making of ceremonial paraphernalia. The enclosure was roofless, like the old winter hunting camps, and consisted merely of upright cactus ribs, with a thatching of greasewood. It was made in less than a day, and when it was finished the men sat down inside to sing for an hour "to make it stand up."

They had now to learn the songs which would be presented at 796[x]
the ceremony and to fashion the effigies which would illustrate 633
them. Each village had eight hereditary song composers. These

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

VILLAGE GOVERNMENT

The Ancient Form

631 The Papago had no central government. Each village unit was
623 autonomous and when two units occasionally joined, for war or games, the union was temporary. There are traditions of meetings, held in time of crisis by the leaders of several different units, generally involving the divisions of Archie and Kuhatk. At such times, the Archie leader was deferred to, since the Archie people were "the oldest settlers" and the "first up from underground". The deference seems to have been a matter of courtesy, not organization and did not apply to Tecalote which had its affiliations in Mexico. We may conjecture from this that there were perhaps loose federations of village units but such formal organization as there was, concerned the village only. The main outlines of this organization follow roughly those of the Pueblos and may be found, in simpler form, among the Shoshoneans, both of California and the Basin.[1]

CEREMONIAL HOUSE

621 Every main village, as a mark of its official status, had a cere-
344 monial house, both at the Fields and at the Wells. The one at the Fields was the largest, since it was in summer or just after harvest that most important ceremonies took place. This house was known as the Big House, or the Rain House, since it was here that the rain-making liquor was brewed. At present it is called the Round House, because it is built on the old round plan, while dwelling houses are square.

[773 The house was large enough to accomodate all the men in the
537 village: perhaps twenty-five feet in diameter. At the building of a new one, a speech was made by a hereditary orator, telling of the magic building of the first house, with the help of earthworms to furnish the timbers; the gopher to heap earth on the roof; the birds to throw down feathers for a floor covering. Then songs calling for rain were sung.

New villages, leaving the parent village, erected a house in this way, bringing the orator from home for the occasion. In the winter camps, the meeting place was often a brush enclosure, since no

[1] Strong, 1927.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

weather protection was needed at that season. Even at cactus camp, where only a few families could gather, some sort of meeting place was contrived though without ceremony.

No ceremonial property was kept in the house. The regular storage place for Papago sacred objects, whether individual or communal property, is some hiding place in the hills. Sacred things are considered too powerful to keep near human dwellings, besides which constant migration and danger from enemies made them safer elsewhere. The Keeper of the Meeting had his own hiding place for all village property which was brought to the Big House, sometimes with special rites, on the day of a ceremony.

SACRED OBJECTS

Each of the main villages had its arcana, brought up according to legend from underground or acquired from the supernaturals. These were kept, not in a bundle, but in a basket, made in the old plaited style; a system reminiscent of the southern California Shoshoneans and particularly of the Luiseño who also use a basket, or at least a matting bundle.[1]

The contents of the sacred basket were usually kept secret but since that at Pisinimo has been stolen, I have been given an account of it. The chief items may well have been relics of the Hohokam, although informants did not know how they were obtained. One was a small frog, carved of green stone and another a rude effigy in sandstone, said to represent Elder Brother, the Papago supernatural. The frog and the human effigy were both familiar in Hokoham handicraft. There was also one of the slate palettes previously mentioned and several long pendants of slate or lava. A number of well made arrow points may also have belonged to the former culture since otherwise it is hard to see why they should be included. The last item was three dried animal hearts, probably those of deer, with six eagle tail feathers stuck in each. All these were packed in the basket with eagle down and placed in a mesquite tree at a distance from the village. A delegation went to get the basket on all important occasions and then took it back again, after speaking to it and perhaps renewing the eagle feathers.

At Quitovaca, the basket contains a stone, said to be the diminished remnant of the heart of a monster, killed there by Elder Brother to save the people. It is packed with eagle down and with a stone effigy which was found (in old ruins?) and believed to have magic power. It is brought from the mountains on ceremonial occasions,

[1] Strong, p. 292.

4: Joseph et al D,E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

VILLAGES AND DIALECT GROUPS

LEADERSHIP AND AUTHORITY IN THE VILLAGE

622 Authority in the village is vested in the chief or *kobanal* (from the Spanish *gobernador*) and his two assistants. According to custom—since there is no written law for village affairs—these offices are elective. In some villages the chief always comes from a certain family, but this is by no means universal. (In Topawa the man who was chief at the time of the field work for this study was not closely related to any of his three most recent predecessors.) The chief holds office until he wishes to retire or until the people become dissatisfied with him.

The chief seems to function as judge, mayor, and sheriff combined. He is called on to settle personal disputes over family problems, division of lands, disagreements over water, damages done by straying cattle, and all the miscellaneous problems that arise wherever people live together.

623 In his nonjudicial capacity, the chief is the head of the village council, composed of all the men of the village. In the old days they met every evening in the village "round house,"[2] but nowadays meetings are less frequent and regular. Here all the village problems are discussed: lands are assigned for farm use; stock-owners air their problems, and the doings of the Agency are talked over. Everyone has his say if it takes all night. In the old days unanimity of opinion had to precede a decision, for the concept of majority rule was not known to the Papago. Nowadays, there is not always unanimity for the simple reason that there is not time. A government proposal may have to be accepted or rejected, and white men call for prompt action.

623 561 The analogy to the patterns of authority in the household is striking. The principle of seniority prevails, and men under twenty-five ordinarily do not say much in council meeting. Some young men nowadays attempt to speak out before they have had enough experience to know much (according to Papago standards); but, even if their ideas are good ones, they gain scant consideration. It is the elders who do most of the talking. The chief is in somewhat the same position as the family head; his decisions are final, but he is obligated to consult all the others, to find out "what people think about it."

184 622 The situation described in the foregoing paragraphs prevails in most parts of the Reservation. The people of the western villages, however, say that their chiefs exist only in the imaginations of white people, and it is true that they have no elected officials or formal council meetings. Yet in every western village except Hickiwan, there is an old man who by the force of his personality has attained the leadership of his community. (In Hickiwan a relatively

2. An old-style round building thatched with grass. In some villages the house is now a rectangular adobe building.

[344]

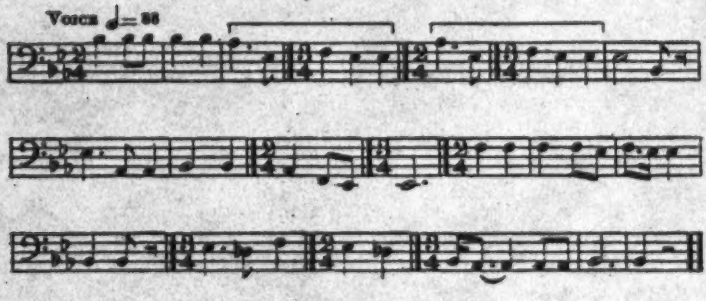
[text continues on p. 65—Analyst]

6: Densmore E-5 (1920) 1929NU28 Papago NU28

X533 found this and drunk the water. In old times Vilnikût was farm land, but the parents of the children did not remember this nor think the children might have strayed there.

No. 105. Song Concerning the Lost Children

(Catalogue No. 995)

Recorded by MATTHIAS HENDRICKS

TRANSLATION

Vilnikût fields I got into.
I stayed there and my heart will be wet enough to last.

Analysis.—In this song concerning the lost children we have a wandering melody with the unusual compass of 12 tones. An ascending ninth occurs midway through the song and the ascending interval at the close suggests a query. A quarter of the intervals are fourths, which is an unusually large proportion of this interval. It is interesting to compare the rhythmic unit with measures 8 and 9 and 16 and 17, in which the note values are the same but the accent is different.

●344 The lodge for the making of tiswin was erected near the lodge of
796 the chief at Santa Rosa. This was visited and photographed.
273 (Pl. 19, *c*.) It was round in shape with only one opening, a door
276 toward the east. The lodge consisted of a framework covered with grass having tree branches or the long stems of the ocatillo cactus on the outside. Preparation for the August festival included the making of a large quantity of cigarettes for every one to use freely. These were made of native tobacco, rolled in corn husks.

796 The persons taking part in the ceremony comprised a leader for
273 the entire ceremony, the men who mixed the tiswin and one man who tasted it, four men who watched the ollas in the lodge during the period of fermentation, four medicine men who made the rain divinations, and the singers, whose number was not prescribed, though 16 was the usual number, this permitting four men to be seated at and between the cardinal points during the distribution of the wine. At the four cardinal points were shallow holes with straw in them. The ollas were placed in these holes during the period of fermentation.

6: Densmore E-5 (1920)1929 NU28 Papago NU28

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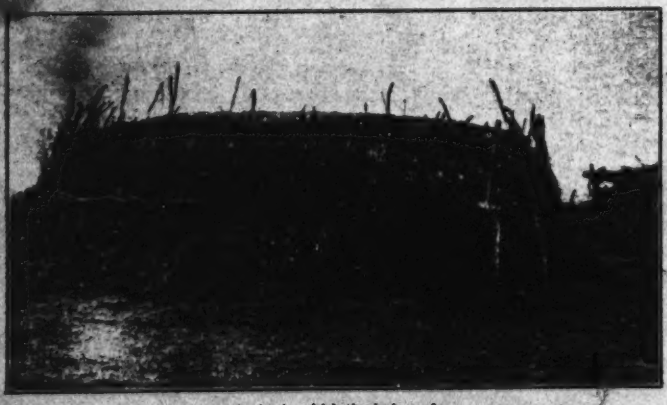
417

a, Thatch on which cactus fruit is dried

b, Place where cactus fruit is boiled

273
344



c, Lodge in which tiswin is made

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
NU28 Papago NU28

their enthusiastic efforts to make an impression on the gods.

The next morning, when I went to inspect the place in daylight, I found the leader and other functionaries sleeping peacefully on the ground under the jacal in front of the lodge, tired from their exertions of the night. I was permitted to enter the lodge, where large earthenware jars were standing full to overflowing with the precious sahuaro fluid. A slight cavity had been dug in the ground for each jar, serving as a receptacle and covered with branches of greasewood upon which the jar rested neatly. The reason for this arrangement, according to the Indians, was to keep the fluid warm and because they had always done it in this way. Heavy spume was rising from most of the jars, showing that fermentation was taking place. A fire was kept up in the lodge in order that the temperature of the air should be even and favorable for fermentation. The solemn function of mixing the sahuaro sirup with water takes place in the morning hours under the jacal outside.

The lodge was a circular, dome-shaped grass hut, the ancient form of Papago habitation, examples of which are still frequently seen in the central part of the Papagueria. The lodge, however, is larger than the dwelling-house, hence its name Kûki, "Big House." (*Ku*, big, large.) This was rather a small one, twelve feet in diameter and six feet high, and scrupulously clean inside. The framework of these primitive houses consists of mezquite posts; from two to four forked uprights in the middle support the dome-shaped roof, which is made of sa-

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
NU28 Papago NU28

huaro ribs, surmounted with greasewood twigs and some large coarse grass called sacáte colorado. The grass is kept in place by hoops of ocotillo inside and outside, placed at intervals of eight or ten inches. The top of the house is covered with earth.

The entrance is small, usually only two and one-half feet high and two feet wide, and is provided with a grass door which, when not in active use, leans up against the wall outside. To get in or out one is obliged to crawl on hands and knees. The fire is made in the centre, and there is no other escape for the smoke than the door, there being no window; as the people inside generally sit on the ground, the smoke does not trouble them; besides, as the house is warm, a large fire is not needed. In the summer these dwellings are delightfully cool, affording also excellent protection against the violent, though short-lasting, rain-storms of the desert.

Usually a light stockade of ocotillo and other kinds of poles runs around the lodge to prevent the cattle from eating the grass of which it is made. In this house the youth are instructed in the traditions and beliefs of the tribe, and here is discussed everything of more or less importance, meetings being held every evening of the year. The man who is in charge of the lodge and its sacred objects is elected for life. He lives near by and is called Keeper of the Smoke, which means tobacco smoke. The name for tobacco is *viv;* when used for certain sacred purposes it is called coyote tobacco (*pan vivuka*). The young plants are covered with greasewood branches, but the Papagoes nowadays rarely grow the weed and